

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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Vol. XII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1909.

No. 578

Published by LOUIS F. POST

Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents

Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898 at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879

EDITORIAL

The Chicago School Land Graft.

The "Big Business" school board of Chicago is in an uproar of indignation because they understand that teachers have exposed to parents through their pupils some startling facts about the Big Business efforts now before the legislature to rid the school system of its interest in the future values of what remains of its landed inheritance. This indignation takes the virtuous form of denouncing a "breach of discipline." One can hardly avoid the suspicion, however, that the "breach of discipline" concerns some of these gentlemen far less than its exposure and possible bafflement of some of the gum-shoe processes of Big Business graft.

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There is scant room for doubt that Big Business is laying legislative foundations, not only for new favors, but also for confirming those which the Tribune, the Daily News and other beneficiaries of previous school boards are fearful they are about to lose in the courts. In seeking power to make and confirm 99-year leases without periodical valuations to meet changes in value, the Big Business school board argues that this is a limitation upon and not an extension of power, since they may now lease for any length of time, even for hundreds of years, and have only refrained in a paroxysm of virtue from doing so; but in fact a recent decision of the Supreme Court, which this new legislation is evidently intended to nulli-

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fy, goes far to indicate that the school board cannot lawfully make long leases without revaluations. This Big Business board also argues that long flat-rent leases are desirable in order to promote building; but the Daily News has had a flat-rent 99-year lease for nearly fifteen years, and has done no building yet.

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Whatever criticism may fairly apply to the teachers on the question of discipline in warning the parents of their pupils of the Big Business graft that is now hatching with reference to these school lands, is more than offset by the commendable civic spirit that prompted the exposure. Teachers should observe rules of discipline, to be sure; but their exposure of school graft, the legislative basis for which the school authorities are promoting, and in the profits of which the local newspapers are sharing, is a much more insistent duty than strict observance of a point of discipline, when those two duties conflict. Whoever carefully reads the circular which the teachers are said to have distributed will justify their act, discipline or no discipline. Any such reader will also understand why the Big Business school trustees who have been lobbying for this Big Business legislation are so much disturbed at the exposure.

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Grabbing Water Course Power.

Another piece of Big Business legislation of the class-crooked kind will be found in the Downing bill (Senate bill No. 362), now pending in the Illinois legislature. One of the old laws of Illinois, enacted when every community was dependent upon its local grist mill and saw mill and there was no serious graft in the milling business, empowered the owners of mill sites or parts of mill sites to invoke the law of eminent domain for the construction or improvement of mill dams. That is to say, they could condemn private property to their own use for milling purposes. With the disappearance of local mills this law has become practically obsolete; but the Downing bill would revive it in the interest of the Commonwealth-Edison electric-power monopoly. It would do so by inserting in this antiquated law a provision adding the words, "or machinery for the creation and development of power or energy for public purposes." The effect of this amendment to that old law, would be to give the Commonwealth-Edison electric-energy trust, the legal authority to condemn to its own use all the water course power in the State of Illinois.

If the people of Illinois don't "get a move on," and that speedily, there will hardly be even a red-hot stove in the State which Big Business will not have got its grip upon. In the plunderous raids it is now making upon water courses, school lands, school books, coal supplies, lake shore lands, and other handy things for monopoly house-keeping, it is as rapacious as any of the old robber barons. Will this legislature stand for it all? There seems to be down at Springfield what one of the best capitol correspondents, Charles N. Wheeler, calls "an invisible force that has a long distance telephone connected with a relative or two in Chicago," which whispers that may be this legislature will stand for it all. You never can quite draw the line at what an Illinois legislature may not do when invisible Big Business forces make dancing floors of its moral sensibilities.

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Beef Trust Candor.

Candor is always refreshing and sometimes delightful; and here is a specimen that one feels to be both. It is from the resolutions of the Chicago Live Stock Exchange in opposition to free wool and free hides. With none of the usual hypocritical pretense of benefits to all by tariff taxation, the sponsors for these resolutions bluntly demand their share of the swag. Speaking for "live-stock feeders, producers, breeders, shippers, dealers and slaughterers"—to wit, the beef trust,—the resolutions declare that "free hides and a tariff of 15 per cent upon boots and shoes is an unjust discrimination against the producer of hides," who "is in truth as much a manufacturer as the maker of boots and shoes and is as much entitled to protection from competition as is the shoemaker." And so of the producer of wool. He "is as much a manufacturer as the maker of carpets and other woollen products," and to "cut down the tariff on wool and leave the tariff on blankets at 165 per cent is a rank and unjust discrimination against the producer of wool." These charmingly candid resolutions go on to protest:

A high tariff upon iron and steel products and little or no protection to the live stock producers of the nation is a serious menace to one of the industries which are the foundation of all industries and without which all others would perish. The live stock producers are entitled to and demand from our lawmakers the same consideration that is given to other classes. They are manufacturers and wealth producers as truly as are the iron and steel makers, the shoemakers, the sugar makers and all other producers that are classed as manufacturers, and considering this economic truth they are entitled to the same measure of protection.

What we have quoted from these beef trust resolutions is enough to illustrate the true spirit of the whole protection fraud; but the remainder is too good to be lost in Congressional pigeon holes. So here it is:

In view of this truth and not considering the justice or expedience of what is called the protective policy—

Mark that now! What band of protectionists ever did consider either the justice or the expediency (except to themselves) of the protective policy? All that they consider in the way of ethics is a square deal in the distribution of plunder. But to proceed with the quotation—

not considering the justice or expedience of what is called the protective policy, the live stock producers of the country claim that in the administering of such policy the government should consider the rights and welfare of all classes and should make the tariff schedules conform to the principles of justice and equity, avoiding discrimination and forbearing from the building up of interests inimical to the general welfare by granting high tariff rates to one and leaving the other unprotected. Equality of opportunity for all—

Does this mean "equality of opportunity" to go a-pirating?

should be the guide of lawmakers in the matter of revenue as well as in all other legislation. Considering the facts and principles herein set forth, we hold that the making of free hides and the reduction of the rates upon wool is a direct violation of equitable principles and will have a disastrous effect upon the live stock industry of our country. In this connection we would call the attention of our lawmakers to the fact that under a protective policy of many years' standing that has favored the manufacturing industries and classed the agriculturist and live stock producer as a maker of raw material, the country has developed many enormous fortunes coming from the special privilege arising from a high tariff on manufactured articles, while on the contrary we have few or no examples of great wealth accumulated by the live stock raisers or farmers of our land. Therefore, not opposing the policy of tariff reduction—

Whose policy is this policy of reduction, now that the election is over?

in any manner, except to insist upon the principles above stated—

A pretty comprehensive exception, by the way; but no broader than that which Mr. Payne and Mr. Aldrich are giving their sanction to, in the name of the Republican party.

we again protest against free hides and low rates on wool. In arranging the schedule, cut the exceedingly high rates of interests that do not need them—What an absurdly treasonable and un-Republican suggestion!

and leave the little protection that has come to the great live stock producing and agricultural interests.

If all protectionists were as candid as the Chicago Live Stock Exchange, the fraud-inflated protection bubble would collapse before morning.

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Significance of the Income Tax.

The opposition of Big Business to an income tax is not easily guessed, at first sight. One is at a loss to understand why so slight an exaction from great incomes should be resisted so strenuously for personal reasons; and the ethical objection that an income tax falls upon earned as well as unearned incomes is never raised. What is it, then, that makes the Big Business opposition so vigorous? One of the Washington correspondents seems to answer the question. He explains that any income tax at all raises an issue which, as the protected interests plainly see, would soon put an end to tariff taxation. The income tax would grow at the expense of tariff taxation. The struggle against the income tax is therefore a life-and-death struggle for the perpetuation of protection.

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The Mexican Neutrality Cases.

The Federal authorities in Texas are broadly charged with perverting the neutrality laws, in the case of Antonio de P. Araujo, in such manner as to amount to suppression of freedom of the press. According to Mr. Araujo's friends, he has been convicted nominally of organizing on American soil expeditions for the invasion of Mexico, but actually of exposing and denouncing, in a periodical published by him in Texas, the unconstitutional tyrannies of Diaz. If his conviction is in good faith what it purports to be, a conviction of conspiring in this country to make an armed attack upon a country with which we are at peace, there is no more reason for criticism than there would be if it were for any other crime. Whatever our individual sympathies may be with reference to the internal commotions of another country, our nation must enforce neutrality so long as it professes neutrality and makes neutrality laws. He who resists it in this, must endure the prescribed penalty as part of the price of a revolutionary assertion of independence of the laws under which he lives. But if it is true that Araujo's only offense is his freedom of speech through the press, that presents a different case. To denounce in American publications the lawlessness and tyranny of the master of a sister nation is no breach of neutrality. Right there is the line of distinction. We ought to be able to trust our courts to decide the point—to trust them with absolute confidence. Unhappily, however, Federal judges have

not made a very good record under our Bill of Rights. Property interests have loomed up much larger before them than human interests. Yet it is to be hoped that the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, which is to hear the appeal from Araujo's conviction in a few days, will draw the line in his case clearly and convincingly between breach of neutrality on the one hand and freedom of speech and the press on the other.

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About the same time that Araujo's appeal is to be heard at Austin, Texas, four other Mexican leaders—Magon, Villareal, Rivera and Sarabia (p. 253) are to be tried at Tombstone, Arizona, also for breach of our neutrality laws. They should have been tried months and months and months ago; but some sinister influence seems to have been at work keeping them in prison, incommunicado at times, while postponing their trial. All this is disquieting as the trial approaches. For the influences that could defy the rights of prisoners as to promptness of trial and liberty pending trial, might very easily pack a jury. If this could be done in Chicago, as it was at the "anarchist" trials, it might be done in Tombstone, if in fact the Mexican authorities are as influential in the case of these prisoners as they have seemed to be. But upon the assumption of a fair jury, these accused Mexicans are now about to be put to the test to which they are entitled and which has been long and arbitrarily denied them. If they have engaged in organizing armed expeditions in our country against our neighbor, no matter how good their cause, they have violated laws of ours which must be vindicated; but if they have not engaged on our side of the line in schemes for armed assaults upon the Mexican authorities, or having so schemed in Mexico have sought an asylum here, they deserve all the protection from Diazian vengeance that it is in the power of this nation to afford.

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Where the Profit Lies.

"It has actually been demonstrated by experience that the profits from the mere holding of timber are larger than those resulting from manufacture." This is the advice, to the investing public, of a great timber-holding company. And incidentally it explains that "many investors when interesting themselves in timber stipulate that there shall be no undertakings to manufacture." This is very reasonable and highly significant. What investors want is profit; and these thoughtful ones have learned that profit comes more abundantly

from holding timber out of use than from putting it to use. The fact that they thereby put a check upon industry, and increase the number of industrial bankruptcies and the army of the unemployed, does not concern them. But it ought to concern everybody else. Why should we help these investors, at the expense of burdening industry, by getting our taxes from the men who use timber instead of the men who hold it out of use?

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Judicial Progress in Cincinnati.

Other communities than those of Ohio are hard hit by the sound and courageous decisions that Judge Gorman is making in that city with reference to certain contemptible, not to say lawless, methods of raising public revenues. "Perhaps the fault lies," he justly observes, "in our bad system of taxation, whereby the State seems to be willing to reach out by the hand of the tax gatherer and lay hold of any thing, object, business or calling, which will enable it to raise revenue, regardless of any moral question that might be involved in the levying and collecting of taxes." That remark alone, coming appropriately from the judicial bench, is of incalculable civic value. Our methods of taxation do utterly ignore moral principles. Not only that, but these methods are defended upon the preposterous plea that there are no moral principles of taxation. Such special pleaders are oblivious, too, to the inevitable inference that their plea put taxation into the criminal categories, along with burglary, sneak thieving and forgery. The cases in which Judge Gorman has made his excellent decisions were on applications for injunctions restraining the taxing authorities from collecting liquor taxes from houses of ill-fame. State agents had been sent as spies into these places, not to ascertain their immoral character and invoke the police power against them; but to catch them at selling beer in order to make them pay a liquor tax! This seems to have been a common practice in Cincinnati, as it probably is elsewhere. But Judge Gorman sustained injunctions, on the common sense ground that inasmuch as traffic in intoxicating liquors in such places is absolutely prohibited by law, the State is not "justified in employing agents in the revenue department, and for the purpose of raising revenue, to tempt and induce the keepers of such houses to violate the law in order to enable the State to profit by the act." In other words, as he concludes, "there is no equity or justice in allowing the State to profit by employing and paying agents to bring about a violation of some of its

most salutary laws." It is not always easy for local judges to make straight decisions in the face of local police custom, local fiscal custom and local judicial custom, as Judge Gorman has done in these cases. The service of judges who lead the way courageously in matters of this kind should not be overlooked.

* * *

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND "CAPITALISM."

Socialists have a theory of class war as characteristic of the great historical epoch upon which the world has entered. It is to be a war by discussion and legislation, as they hope and are trying to make it, but a war nevertheless,—a clash of classes.

On one side in this war they foresee a "capitalistic" or labor exploiting class struggling to carry all before it; and on the other a "labor" or exploited class, struggling to conquer the world and finally succeeding.

In the "capitalistic" or exploiting class, they discern, as they believe, psychological phenomena which they call "class consciousness"—an impulsive homogeneity of all those whose actual or expectant interests are of the "capitalistic" or labor exploiting species. On the side of the "labor" or exploited class, they find a great (though, as they believe, a diminishing) heterogeneity of impulse, which leaves this class very much at the mercy of the other.

What militant Socialists primarily seek, therefore, is to cultivate in all individuals of the "labor" or exploited class (actual or expectant), the same sense of oneness with reference to "labor" interests that prevails already in the opposite class with reference to "capitalistic" interests. As the "capitalistic" elements are "class conscious" *for* labor exploitation, they would inspire the labor elements with "class consciousness" *against* labor exploitation.

Whether this can be done or not, either by industrial organization or political organization or no organization, or in any other way, is beyond the scope of our immediate subject.

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Reserving those considerations for another time, we may at once concede, however, that the Socialists, be they right or wrong as to the possibility of developing a "labor class-consciousness," are substantially right as to the present fact of what they call "capitalistic class-consciousness." In our communities the world over, there is in truth today a labor-exploiting class which oper-

ates homogeneously in obedience to sinister psychological impulses that answer well enough to the "capitalistic class-conscious" appellation which Socialists adopt.

An impressive example is afforded in Chicago at this moment in connection with the administration of the public schools. "Capitalistic class-consciousness" is here shamelessly exhibited in its efforts to transform an educational or developing institution for children into an engine for "capitalistic"* exploitation.

Similar examples might be found in any large city. We mention Chicago because peculiar circumstances here give emphasis to conditions that are universal.

Measures are pending before the legislature which are evidently designed to subordinate the Chicago public school system and its property to the purposes of a class of exploiters, who, as a class, differ from the old "grey wolf pack" only in the conventional respectability and legislative legality of the means they employ to divert the products of labor from producers.

*

A sidelight was thrown upon those measures at a hearing last week before the educational committee of the lower house of the legislature.

John J. Sonstebly, the member of the Chicago school board who has exposed the school book steal from which Chicago has suffered for ten years, argued for a salaried school board. This was opposed by the president of the present board.

"You don't believe the City of Chicago could hire a man like Joseph Downey, for instance, to serve on the school board at any price it could afford to pay," said the chairman of the committee, one of the "capitalistic" class of Chicago.

"Precisely," said Mr. Schneider, another of the same class. "I would not serve myself for pay; the best men available for this work do not want a salary and would not want the positions if they were salaried."

Now Mr. Downey bears the personal reputation of an honest man, and so he doubtless is. The same may be said of Mr. Schneider.

But, except for "capitalistic" utilization of the school system, neither of these two excellent men is any better for a position on the school board, and in some important public respects neither is

*We use the term "capitalistic," not as a derivative from "capital" in the technical economic sense of artificial implements of industry; but as a derivative from "capital" in its common and loose commercial sense of everything that is capitalized—natural as well as artificial implements of industry, and even of laborers if chattel slavery existed.

as good, as Mr. Sonstebly, who, though now a lawyer, continues fraternal relations with the union of his original trade of clothing cutter; or as John J. Fitzpatrick, the blacksmith, who is the able and justly trusted president of the Federation of Labor; or as John C. Harding, the business agent of the printers, who as a member of the school board proved his honesty and efficiency beyond question, and in addition unearthed the school land steals that had been sanctioned by boards dominated by "capitalistic" members, as Mr. Sonstebly has uncovered the book steals of the same "capitalistic" boards.

But men like Sonstebly and Harding and Fitzpatrick can serve on unpaid school boards only at great personal sacrifice; whereas men like Schneider and Downey—all such men as have thrived in the labor-exploiting class—can without sacrifice graciously lend some of their leisure to the public, and at the same time make the public service conserve the interests of the "capitalistic" class, which, in contradistinction to the whole public, they really represent.

We emphasize our disclaimer of any disrespect toward these men personally. Unlike many of their class with whom they consort and co-operate in class affairs, they are personally honest men. But they are class-bound men, they are "capitalistic class-conscious" men.

It is wholly to the control of such men, at the best (we say nothing of the worst), that the interests of the schools are intrusted when school trustees are unpaid. Equally good men of the exploited class cannot afford to serve for nothing; and to men of the exploiting class, though they be personally honest, the voice of their class is the voice of God. Unpaid public positions like that of school trustee, are therefore necessarily "capitalistic" positions. Their tendency is to place the school children, mostly children of the exploited class, under the domination of the class that exploits them, and without even a minority representation of their own class on the school board to guard their interests.

Its further tendency is to subject school property to "capitalistic" policies in opposition to public policy.

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In that direction the measures before the legislature go to still greater lengths.

They originate in the Commercial Association—the most powerful and aggressive "capitalistic" trade union in Chicago.

They are promoted principally by Theodore W. Robinson, vice president of the Chicago branch

of the steel trust, which is at this very moment asking the legislature to give it the fee of public lands of enormous prospective value, just as "capitalistic" interests of seventy years ago diverted school lands from public school uses to private "capitalistic" purposes.

They contain clauses well calculated to protect the "capitalistic" landgrabbers of Chicago, who, with the connivance of unpaid business school boards, have well nigh divested the school system of all its remaining patrimony, thereby making it possible to undo the good work that the John C. Harding committee did.

They contain provisions with reference to school books and the power of the superintendent, that will make it possible to undo the good work that John J. Sonstebly's committee has done in that connection.

They contain provisions that will enable the Mayor, with the co-operation of a majority of his own appointees, to summarily dismiss from the board any member whose opposition to a "capitalistic" exploitation may make the exploitation difficult or dangerous.

Altogether these measures, if adopted by the legislature, would amount to little less than a reference with power, of the whole school system—land, teachers, children, and all—to the ring which dominates the "capitalistic" class of Chicago.

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Can this kind of thing go on without reaction in the socialistic direction? Can these object lessons of "capitalistic class-consciousness" and "capitalistic" exploitation be flaunted in the faces of exploited workingmen without soon producing the class clash which Socialism predicts and endeavors to promote? Can we have "capitalistic class consciousness" without generating "labor class-consciousness"? However each may for himself answer those questions, it seems clear enough that the time has come for everyone who professes to deplore class conflicts, to prove his good faith by renouncing his allegiance to the "capitalistic" combiners that are provoking class controversies, and making his renunciation effective by withdrawing his support from their programs of exploitation.

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It will greatly help thee * * * if thou rememberest that what does the work of a fig-tree is a fig-tree, and that what does the work of a dog is a dog, and that what does the work of a bee is a bee, and that what does the work of a man is a man.—Marcus Aurellus Antoninus.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

IS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA "A COLOSSAL SUCCESS"?

April 13, 1909.

On January 18th, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, in an address delivered in the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church in Washington, D. C., made some astounding statements concerning British rule in India. He said that the British government in India was a colossal success, etc. (p. 224).

The success of a government is measured by the sanitary condition of a country, the economic situation of the governed, the prosperity of the nation, and the intellectual and moral achievements of the people. To measure the height of the success of the British rule in India in this article, I will attempt to bring forward facts and figures concerning the sanitation of India under British rule.

It is known to all that since 1901 India is annually ravaged by the Bubonic and the Pneumonic plague, and these fearful diseases have become as common as malarial fever, smallpox or cholera there. The highest medical authorities of the world have pronounced that the plague in India is caused by want of proper sanitation and want of sufficient food among the people. If want of proper sanitation is one of the undeniable causes of plague, we would like to produce before our intelligent readers the government statistics concerning sanitation in India as revealed by Hon. Mr. Gokhale, C. I. E., in his budget speech in March, 1908:

"These figures show the amount contributed by the several provincial revenues as grants-in-aid to the municipalities towards the capital outlay on drainage and water-works during the last five years, i. e., from 1902-3 to 1906-7. Total amount in rupees in five years:

Madras (exclusive of 3 lakhs given to the city of Madras)	Rs. 647,000
Bombay	105,400
United Provinces	568,335
Punjab	235,000
Burma	nil.
Eastern Bengal and Assam	14,000
Central Provinces	41,000
N. W. Provinces	nil.

Total for all provinces in five years..... Rs. 1,610,735

Equivalent in United States currency.....\$ 536,912

"This gives an annual average of a little over \$100,000 for the whole country (where the population is about three hundred millions). It may be noted that during these same five years, while the government contributed a mere pittance of a little over five hundred thousand dollars towards the sanitation of our own towns which were being decimated by annual visitations of the plague, His Excellency, the Commander in Chief, was able to obtain for military charges a sum of about 27 crores, i. e., \$90,000,000, above the level of the military expenditure.

"In 1901-02, nearly 60 crores, i. e., \$200,000,000, were spent as capital outlay on railways, of which one-third, i. e., \$66,666,666, was found out of current

revenues. My Lord, this treatment of sanitation as though the government has no responsibility in regard to it has hitherto been one of the most melancholy features of the present scheme of financial decentralization, under which sanitation has been made over to the local bodies as their concern, though they have admittedly no resources for undertaking large projects of improvement. The analogy of England is often quoted to justify this arrangement, but on the same analogy, railway construction should have been left to private enterprise, but it is not."

The above report proves that the British government in India spent annually an average of a little more than \$100,000 of the revenue collected from the people for the sanitation of a population of about three hundred millions. Is this the best efficiency of the British ideal of sanitation? Is this the best sign of skill and devotion to improve the sanitary condition of the people of India?

The civilized world generally thinks that the British government is doing a great work of irrigation in India to improve Indian agriculture and the sanitary condition of the country. But it is really a myth when we get into the motive and details of the action. We quote a part of the speech of Rai Bahadur Satanath Roy, one of the merchant princes of Bengal, delivered before the first annual meeting of the National Chamber of Commerce on Feb. 13, 1909, Calcutta:

"There is no country in the world which is blessed with such a magnificent river system as Bengal (including, of course, Eastern Bengal). These rivers served most useful purposes. They were not only useful from a sanitary point of view, but also from an economic point of view; they not only supplied good drinking water to the people but served as arteries through which flowed the commerce of the country. But for some time, these rivers, channels and creeks have been silting up, and most of them have dried up, with the result that many once flourishing towns and villages have been devastated by cholera and malarial fever."

He further observes, and very rightly:

"Everywhere, both in Europe and America, rivers are being kept open and navigable by means of powerful dredgers, but except in the case of the river Hooghly, near Calcutta, no really useful and powerful dredger has ever been utilized in removing the silt deposits and for keeping up the natural flow of water through the numerous rivers in Bengal. While several countries in Europe and America have been spending millions for the improvement of their respective rivers, our government, while so lavish in all other things, including railways, have been very slow in spending money on the improvement of the waterways of the country."

This is not all. I am a Hindu. I wandered for over two years in different parts of India to study the real condition of the people, and what I have observed and experienced is unimaginable by the American people. Excepting in a few big cities, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Alahabad and a few others, it is very hard for the people to get pure drinking water. There is no water supply system in the Indian towns and villages. In villages, where ninety per cent of the people live, there are tanks, or reservoirs, dug by the people; and in most cases the

water of those tanks, where the washerman washes dirty clothes, the dishwasher cleans his dishes, and people in general take their baths, is used for cooking and drinking purposes. The British government does not help materially to remedy these evils. It is regarded as a case of rare fortune if the villagers get any help from the government to dig a well when the reservoir is dried up. I thoroughly agree with Mr. Russell, the eminent sociologist and author of "The Uprising of the Many," who observed that millions of people in India live in huts and hovels whose sanitary condition is worse than those provided for cattle in this country.

Mr. William Jennings Bryan, after visiting India, remarked wisely:

"So great has been the drain, the injustice to the people, and the tax upon the resources of the country, that famines have increased in frequency and severity. Mr. Gokhale, one of the ablest of India's public men, presided over the meeting of the last Indian National Congress held in December, and declared in his opening speech that the death rate had steadily risen from 24 to the 1,000 in 1882-1884 to 30 in 1892-1894, and to 34 at the present time.

"I have more than once, within the last month, heard the plague referred to as a providential remedy for over-population. Think of it! British rule justified because 'it keeps the people from killing each other,' and the plague praised because it removes those whom the government has saved from slaughter." (From "British Rule in India," by William Jennings Bryan.)

Here we want to emphasize that in England the death rate is decreasing, and the statistics read thus: "England has become successful in bringing down her death rate from 20 to 15.5 per 1,000 during the last twenty years."

It is very interesting to note the statement by Sir Henry Cotton, M. P., contradicting the views of Mr. Roosevelt. His observations, published in the "New York World," January 22d, 1909, are as follows:

"Mr. Roosevelt doubtless delivered his eulogy to please Englishmen who, he well knows, are always willing to swallow such praise. But the English need no glorifying of their work in India, for they will do that themselves. We denounce foreign countries when they pursue immoral policies, but we will not seriously criticize our own government, which too often acts in opposition to the wishes of the people. It is interesting to point out that Mr. Roosevelt's conclusions are directly opposite to those of Mr. Bryan, who traveled in India and the East and then wrote his impressions after mature consideration. While I have no desire to belittle the work of my countrymen in India, my own views, I do not mind saying, coincide with those of Mr. Bryan, who gave, I believe, a very fair appreciation of England's work in India. Comparatively speaking, I think America has made more progress in the Philippines than England has in India. I attribute this success to Mr. Taft and to the helpful attitude of Americans residing in the Islands."

Some people make the indiscreet remark that the people of India have no idea of sanitation, and that they never lived in a sanitary way; but such is not the case. Students of ancient history testify that when the Anglo-Saxons were living in caves, then

India had her days of prosperity; medical science, astronomy, ethics and philosophy flourished there. Megasthenes, an early Greek historian and contemporary of Alexander the Great, has fortunately left a very valuable testimony to this early Indian civilization.

Under the existing economic conditions, the people of India cannot undertake independently any work of sanitation, because they are poor—they are taxed to death. There are districts where the people are forced to pay a land tax of 65 per cent of the products. The average income of the people is now one and one-half cents a day, while it was four cents a day some fifty years ago.

All nations condemn the Spanish exploitation of South America, as they also condemn her treatment of Cuba. Under Spanish rule Cuba was in a state of horror, but under the progressive and benevolent influence of the United States the conditions are changed; there shines forth the success of the American democracy which raised Cuba, a country of enslaved people, a resort unfit for human habitation, to a land of free people, blessed with all the latest sanitary developments.

The United States saved the Cubans from the yawning jaws of yellow fever, and the British Government has become the cause of plague, malaria and famine in India. Then shall we call the British Government in India a colossal success?

BANDE MATERAM.

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THE RECALL IN ACTION.

Los Angeles, Cal.

Los Angeles has the distinction of being the first city in the Union to make use of the "Recall." It was also the first American city to incorporate in its charter this new instrument for the control of its officials. This it did in 1903 by a vote of 5 to 1, being induced to do so mainly through the efforts of Dr. John R. Haynes, president of the State Direct Legislation League, one of its citizens who brought the idea from Switzerland, where under another name it has been in use many years. Los Angeles has a progressive people who take kindly to anything new that seems likely to be an improvement on the old.

To invoke the recall against an elective officer the Los Angeles charter requires that a petition signed by 25 per cent of the legal voters shall be presented to the City Council demanding that a new election, for reasons briefly set forth in the petition, shall be held. The election must occur not sooner than 30 nor more than 40 days after the petition is filed. The officer against whom the recall is invoked, must be a candidate to succeed himself at the recall election, unless he in writing declines to run. To illustrate this new device for securing popular government, let me describe the recall in action.

A. C. Harper, who was recently driven from his office by the recall movement (p. 318), became mayor of Los Angeles in January, 1907, for a three years' term.

He had a good reputation, was well connected and promised well; but it soon became apparent to many that he was too closely allied with, if not controlled by the quartet that so often combine and rule our

large cities, viz: public service corporations, liquor dealers, gamblers and dive keepers, all working through the political machines.

The city had recently authorized the issue of \$25,000,000 of bonds for needed public improvements, and the fear of corruption in the disbursement of this great sum combined to make weighty two moral and financial reasons for drastic action. Two hundred intelligent and determined citizens therefore assembled January 20 at the call of a few leaders to discuss the question of invoking the recall against the mayor. Admission to this and the three subsequent adjourned meetings of the same body of men, was by card only, or by invitation, as was the case with myself.

It was one of the most critical moments in the history of Los Angeles. The meeting was held within a stone's throw of the city hall, where the mayor ruled in fancied security; the leading journals of the city were sustaining the mayor and were luke-warm as to the recall itself, or openly opposing it as un-American and brutal. Libel suits claiming heavy damages were pending before the courts, brought by the mayor against the two journals, the Herald and the Express, which were vigorously exposing the alleged bad conduct of the mayor and his subordinates. The grand jury which was investigating these charges had not then reported, a fact that caused a few to counsel delay. The leading politicians of the city were friendly to the mayor or keeping quiet; and there was uncertainty as to whether the voters would sustain so radical a movement. These circumstances would have discouraged men less determined.

Among the 200 were four ex-circuit judges, one of whom, Hon. John D. Works, a contributor to the Arena magazine, was chosen permanent chairman. He briefly and clearly stated in a dignified manner the purpose of the meeting, and was followed with timely remarks from others. The vote to proceed with the recall was then passed amid suppressed but intense excitement.

The citizens responded to this action with unexpected enthusiasm. In a few days about 11,000 signatures were secured for the petition, 3,000 in excess of the legal requirement; and the City Council, as directed by the charter, appointed March 26 as election day.

In the meantime Wm. D. Stephens was named at a subsequent citizens' meeting as Harper's opponent at the recall election, but in a few days Mr. Stephens declined to run on account of sickness in his family.

On February 17, Hon. George Alexander was recommended as a candidate against Mr. Harper, and on February 24 a petition was filed with the city clerk officially placing Mr. Alexander in nomination.

At this time any body of citizens had the right to file petitions nominating candidates for the recall election. The Socialists nominated Fred C. Wheeler, a very worthy man, as their candidate, but the other political parties failed to nominate, some of the leaders of the Republican party having been reported as saying: "Mayor Harper is good enough for us." Some went so far as to circulate and wear campaign buttons with the foregoing legend printed upon them.

On March 11, Mayor Harper tendered his resignation in writing, to prevent the publication of facts in possession of Mr. E. T. Earl, of the Express; and also withdrew as a candidate for re-election. His action was generally regarded as a confession of guilt. This action also created great excitement, both among the friends and enemies of the recall, the latter claiming that the vacancy in the mayoralty should be filled by the City Council for the unexpired term of Mayor Harper, i. e. to January 1910. The council, however, under advice of the city attorney, Leslie Hewitt, in view of the recall election having been ordered, voted to fill the vacancy only until the person chosen at the recall election should be qualified. The council then elected Wm. D. Stephens to serve as mayor for the few days that remained until the result of the recall election should be known.

Enemies of the recall at once asked for an injunction from Judge Walter Bordwell to annul the recall election because of the resignation of Mayor Harper and thereby save the taxpayers the expense of the special election.

On March 23, only three days before the date set for the election, Judge Bordwell in an elaborate opinion, taking the ground that as between an election by the voters or by their representatives, the Council, the voters should have precedence, refused to grant the injunction; and on the 26th of March, the election was held. There were only the two candidates, Alexander and Wheeler.

The enemies of the recall, in order to discredit the movement, combined all their forces upon the Socialist candidate, who received about twice his normal vote; while many friends of Mr. Alexander, feeling sure of his election, failed to vote. Mr. Alexander received 13,929, and Mr. Wheeler 12,421 votes.

The new mayor, Mr. Alexander, is a retired business man, about 70 years old, an ex-Union soldier, a Methodist, a Knight Templar, and has been for eight years County Commissioner. Familiarly he is known as "Honest Uncle George."

JAMES P. CADMAN.



A Traveler from a Distant Country came to Sacramento, in the Season of Plagues, of Rains and Sessions. Among the Strange Sights he beheld was a man who progressed by Walking Backward, and, turning to a Native, the Traveler begged him to explain this strange Phenomenon.

"That locomotively reversed Personage," replied his Courteous Informer, "is a Legislator. He walks Backward because the God he worships is Precedent; and he is ever under the Illusion that he is Backing out of his Deity's Presence."

"How interesting!" exclaimed the Traveler. "But do all your legislators walk backwards?"

"No," said the Native, "not All. Many of them progress Sidewise like a Crab."

"But why, Pray, why?"

"In order to sidestep Issues, of course," responded the Native patiently.

"Then what ever gets Done in this Remarkable Country?" cried the Traveler.

The Native looked Pityingly upon him. "The People, of course," he said.—Liberator.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, April 27, 1909.

The "Young Turks" Take Constantinople and Depose Abdul Hamid II.

The Second and Third Army Corps of the Turkish army, under the leadership of the Young Turks, or the party of Union and Progress, representing the Constitutional movement, as reported last week (p. 395), arrived before the gates of Constantinople on the 19th. The remnant of the garrison of the city—the First Army Corps—depleted by desertions, and unsupported by their officers, many of whom indeed had been murdered by their own men in the fanatical rioting which marked the first outbreaks against the Constitutional movement, made hasty preparations to resist the entry of the approaching forces. Dispatches of the 22d stated that the Fourth Army Corps at Erzeroun, Asia Minor, had also pronounced in favor of the Sultan and against the Constitutional party. The advance of the Constitutional army into Constantinople began in the afternoon of the 23d, when the Sultan was away from the Yildiz Kiosk in attendance upon a religious ceremony. Light fighting marked the appropriation of momentarily empty barracks by the advancing troops. Fierce combats in the streets and from one defended house to another, followed on the 24th, and by evening the Constitutional forces were in complete control of the city with the exception of the Yildiz Kiosk, the Sultan's fortified palace. Time was given the Sultan for capitulation as the Young Turks desired no unnecessary bloodshed. Among the assertions to inspire confidence, made in advance by the Constitutional commander-in-chief, Mahmoud Scheffet Pasha, was that he was bringing policemen with him. That the character of the invading army, which included large forces of volunteers, some of whom came in cabs to take part in the fighting, and the presence of the "policemen," produced a new kind of battle is evident from these statements in the Associated Press dispatches:

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the attack upon the city was the great number of people of all nationalities, including many Europeans, who thronged the streets immediately outside of the zone of the firing. Everybody showed that confidence had been inspired by the discipline, valor and friendly cour-

tesy of the invading troops, particularly the gendarmes of Saloniki.

At noon the battle ceased, and precautionary measures were immediately taken by those upon whom victory had rested to insure the safety of the residents. No disorders of any kind occurred during the afternoon and no looting was permitted. General satisfaction seemed to be felt at the swift change from uncertainty to constitutional order.

The Yildiz Kiosk garrison surrendered on the 25th. Martial law was immediately proclaimed in Constantinople by the victorious leaders. Placards were posted about the city requesting the people to continue their business, open their shops, on which the shutters were still up, and avoid accepting as true, and repeating, rumors prejudicial to tranquillity of mind. The posters advised the populace to keep within doors from one hour after sunset until sunrise, but permission would be given by the officers of the watch for passing through the streets on necessary business after nightfall. With the surrender of the Yildiz Kiosk the Sultan fell into the hands of the Young Turks. At dawn on the 27th Abdul Hamid II was formally deposed by a decree of the National Assembly, following the decision of the Sheik-ul-Islam, the religious head of Mohammedanism after the Sultan, that the Sultan was incapable of ruling in accordance with the will of the people. Abdul Hamid's brother, Mehemmed Reschad Effendi, who has been by Turkish law the heir-apparent, and who had been kept a prisoner in his own palace during all the thirty-three years of Abdul Hamid's reign, was proclaimed Sultan under the title of Mehmed V.

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In the meantime the fires of religious fanaticism kindled by the reactionary movement which started the revolt of the 13th (p. 395), under the leadership of the Mohammedan League, have spread far and wide in Asiatic Turkey and in Macedonia, where Armenians and other Christian citizens of the Ottoman Empire have been massacred and their homes destroyed. In some cases whole villages have been entirely wiped out. Foreign missionaries, among whom Americans are conspicuous, are in the greatest danger, and some have undoubtedly lost their lives. The number of persons massacred is very variously estimated, as news is very uncertain, but it is even put as high as over 30,000. The Young Turks began organizing an army of 10,000 volunteers on the 21st, to suppress the massacring, and indeed it was the diversion of attention to these horrors that delayed the entry of their army into Constantinople. The religious movement is working on subtle lines, and may be difficult to control. It is said that the Mohammedan League cannot be located. It is a secret society, which has sprung up since July to fight the battles of faith and to repel heresies, and it is busy undermining the loyalty of the troops which

are affiliated with the Constitutionalists. Even as the Constitutional army drew near Constantinople, numerous agents of the Mohammedan League, ardent young men, theological students and junior members of the clergy, penetrated the lines, pointing out to the men that it was their duty to God and Allah to rid themselves of their officers. The navy also has suffered from this religious propaganda. The Committee of Liberal Union, with which the Mohammedan League is allied, does not announce such fanatical principles. They favor religious freedom, though insisting that as the Mohammedans are numerically more powerful in the Empire than the Christians, they should have a larger control of affairs. While the Young Turks, on the other hand, have declared in their proclamations that they seek absolute equality for all the religious elements of the Empire.

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Russian Troops Enter Persia.

The Nationalists of Persia who represent the constitutional idea in that awakening country (p. 63), as already reported, are in a long fight with the Shah. For nine months their headquarters have been at Tabriz in the northwest, where, under the leadership of Satar Khan, they have withstood attack, but suffered continual besiegement. Lack of provisions has produced a critical situation. The foreign consulates continue to receive supplies from without, and are therefore threatened with pillage by the starving mobs. On the ground that the foreign residents require protection the Powers are acquiescing in Russian intervention. A Russian expedition under General Snarsky left the Russian frontier on the 24th for the besieged city.

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The Tariff in Congress.

The struggle in the Republican party between the Aldrich high protectionists and the western tariff revisionists, began in the Senate on the 21st in the course of the debate on the tariff bill (p. 393), the revolt in favor of tariff revision downward being led by Senator Cummins of Iowa in a speech in explanation of his introduction of an amendment providing for an income tax. He spoke, however, as a protectionist. Answering a question, he declared that he believed absolutely in the principle of the protection of the American markets against any and all other people on the earth, and wished to go before the country as a protectionist at all times. "If I am to be judged by the standard of that aggregation of selfishness and slander known as the Protective Tariff League," he said, "I am unsound on the tariff. But if I am to be judged by the standard of the Republican platform and of the attitude of McKinley, Garfield, and Blaine, I am as good a Republican on the tariff as can be found." The income tax amend-

ment which Senator Cummins submitted is of a graduated type. It provides for a tax of 2 per cent on incomes between \$5,000 and \$10,000, rising to 2½ per cent up to \$20,000, 3 per cent up to \$40,000, 3½ per cent up to \$60,000, 4 per cent up to \$80,000, 5 per cent up to \$100,000, and 6 per cent on all incomes exceeding that sum. It does not propose to tax corporations, because Senator Cummins regards them as mere instrumentalities for individual profit, the result of taxing a corporation as a whole being frequently to tax the small holder of stock, whereas the purpose of his amendment is to exempt all incomes below \$5,000 annually.

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Destructive Storm at Cleveland.

The city of Cleveland, Ohio, suffered great loss from a sudden and most violent wind and rain storm of brief duration at noon on the 21st. Houses, great bridges, many-storied factories and large churches were in part or entirely demolished. Lightning added to the destruction. It all came in the ten minutes from 12:30 to 12:40, at just the time when the school children were out of the school buildings, a fact which undoubtedly decreased the fatalities, as fourteen school buildings were shattered in roof, walls, cornice or windows. Thirty churches suffered greatly. St. Stanislaus' Roman Catholic Church, which cost when built a few years ago, \$150,000, was demolished. The total property loss has been put at \$2,000,000. Eight persons lost their lives.

NEWS NOTES

—The price of May wheat (p. 393), fell on the 24th to \$1.18.

—George Leavens Lilley, Governor of Connecticut, died at the executive mansion in Hartford on the 21st.

—Earthquakes (p. 205) in Portugal (p. 14) on the 23rd caused much destruction of property and some loss of life.

—Mrs. Matthew T. Scott of Illinois was elected president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution (p. 396), on the 23rd, at Washington.

—Peter F. Collier, founder and chief owner of Collier's Weekly, died suddenly in the club house of the Riding Club, New York City, at the age of 59.

—Resolutions demanding that hides be put on the free list in the pending tariff bill (p. 393), were adopted at Chicago on the 24th, at a meeting of representatives of the leather industries.

—The fourth executive meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (p. 395) opened in St. James' Hall, London, on the 26th. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, of the United States, presided.

—Concessions regarding access to their private set of books (p. 394), have been made by the Chicago

Railways Company, and the Mayor's accountants—Price, Waterhouse & Co.—are now inspecting them.

—John Schreder, an old reader of *The Public*, died on the 22d at the age of eighty years at his home in Tecumseh, Mich., where he left a long record of useful service both as a wealth producer and a single taxer. He came originally from New York.

—Castro (p. 396) arrived in Paris on the 23rd. In newspaper interviews he claims to have defended Venezuela against invasion by the United States, which, as he says, "has already taken Cuba and Panama and has now committed its first act against the sovereignty of Venezuela."

—The death of ex-U. S. Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada occurred at Georgetown, D. C., on the 23rd. It followed a surgical operation. He was 82 years old. Originally a Republican, he supported Bryan on the silver issue in 1896 and again in 1900; but returned to the Republican party in 1904.

—An injunction to a receiver of his court to employ only union labor in the mine of the bankrupt Hiawatha Smokeless Coal Company of Coaldale, Arkansas, or else to sell the mine, was part of the order of Judge J. N. Bourland, at Fort Smith, Arkansas, on the 22nd, in granting a receivership for the company.

—James B. Van Cleave resigned on the 20th, as president of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, under pressure, as reported in St. Louis press dispatches, from manufacturers throughout the country, called out by his fight with labor unions in connection with their boycott of the Buck's Stove and Range (p. 326), of which he is at the head.

—The Santa Fé Railway Company was fined \$100 on the 21st by Judge Landis for violating the Federal nine-hour law, which prohibits inter-state railway companies from requiring their telegraph operators and employes engaged in handling train orders to remain on duty more than nine hours a day. This was the first law suit under that prohibition.

—For the second National Peace Congress (p. 326), to meet at Chicago, May 3, 4 and 5, an elaborate and handsome programme has been printed, which may be had of the secretary, Royal L. Melendy, 174 Adams street, Chicago. The official report of the Congress will be furnished for \$1.00, and the membership condition is a registration fee of \$1.00.

—An injunction of the State courts of Missouri forbidding the railroads to charge more than the 2-cent fare fixed by the laws of the State (p. 396), was dissolved on the 24th by Judge Phillips of the Federal Court at Kansas City, with an intimation that any State official applying for, or any State court issuing an injunction against the railroads under the State law regulating fares, would be punished for contempt of the Federal Courts.

—The 8-hour day bill for workingwomen (p. 299), now pending in the Illinois legislature, came up for hearing on the 21st before the Senate Committee on mines and mining. It was opposed by the Manufacturers' Association, represented by John M. Glenn, the secretary, William D. Haynie, the general counsel, and J. W. Osgood, a manufacturer. The bill was supported by Harold F. Ickes, counsel for the Women's Trade Union League, Agnes Nestor of the

glove workers' union and Elizabeth Maloney of the waitresses' union.

—A local election in Cleveland on a tuberculosis sanitarium bond issue, having been opposed by the Republican organization, and defeated for lack of the necessary two-thirds vote (although it polled 21,000 affirmative to 17,000 negative), reports were spread that Mayor Johnson regarded this as a personal defeat and would not run again for mayor. Questioned by the Plain Dealer of the 23d, he said: "I am a candidate for Mayor. I announced that I would be a candidate following my election in the Fall of 1907. Nothing has occurred to change my mind and nothing will."

—Pardons were granted on the 24th by Governor Willson of Kentucky, to all persons charged with the murder of Governor-elect Goebel (vol. xi, p. 275), except those who turned state's evidence. The pardon includes ex-Gov. Taylor, who has been a fugitive in Indiana ever since the murder, having been there protected from extradition. It does not include Henry E. Youtsey, who is serving a life sentence in the penitentiary and who confessed against himself, Taylor and others. Governor Willson, ex-Gov. Taylor and the Indiana governors who refused extradition are Republicans. Goebel was a Democrat. Governor Willson states that he has granted the pardons upon assuring himself that the pardoned men were innocent of the crime.

—Another municipality of New Zealand has joined the ranks of the New Zealand communities that raise their local revenues by land value taxation (vol. x, p. 81; vol. xi, p. 488; vol. xii, p. 20), under the local option revenue law of that country. The report, coming by mail through the Auckland Liberator is to the effect that on the 11th of February last the local taxpayers of Hastings, a municipality of 4,600 population, voted for the third time on the proposal, and that this time the reform was adopted. The votes for each time were as follows:

	For	Against	
1902.....	250	265	rejected
1905.....	314	374	rejected
1909.....	323	246	carried

The value of land in Hastings is \$2,276,470, and the improvements, \$1,403,255.

PRESS OPINIONS

How to Revive Industry.

The Denver (daily) Express (Ind.), Apr. 6.—All over the nation lands are held out of use for speculative purposes—agricultural lands, mining lands, city lands. If they were so heavily taxed that they would have to be used or given up to those who would use them, we should have a renewed era of building and a revival of industry.

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The Rulership of Senator Aldrich.

La Follette's (Ind. Rep.), April 17.—Who gives Mr. Aldrich his commission to rule? He is Senator from the smallest State in the Union in point of territory, and from any viewpoint, except Mr. Aldrich's influence in government, which alone makes it pre-

eminent. Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island has held up that State to contempt as one in which the electorate is corrupted by money and in a large measure purchased and purchasable. The Aldrich rule, therefore, is the output of a small community in which money power determines its representation in the Senate.

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Castro and Diaz.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (William Marlon Reedy), April 15.—Castro is up against the money power, and there is no hope for him. With all his faults, and they must be grossly exaggerated by his enemies, he seems to have tried to save from the foreign looters and grabbers something of Venezuela for the Venezuelans. Castro made a great mistake when he became President of his country. He should have done as Diaz did in Mexico; play into the hands of the English, French and American adventurers desirous of exploiting his country's resources. Diaz is a great man, because the money power finds him in agreement with it. It matters nothing that he is a tyrant or at least an irremovable dictator. He is for the business interest against his own people's liberties and therefore he is in all things upheld. I may be wholly wrong, but Cipriano Castro looks to me to be more of a patriot than Porfirio Diaz and deserving of a more honorable place in history.

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The Plutocratic Party Within Parties.

La Follette's (Ind. Rep.), March 27.—Had Bryan been in the White House, instead of Taft, it would have been the same. In every issue between the people and the System, Bartlett of Nevada, Brantley of Georgia, Broussart of Louisiana, Conroy of New York, Edwards of Georgia, Estopinal of Florida, Fitzgerald of New York, Fornes of New York, Goldtole of New York, Goulden of New York, Griggs of Georgia, Harrison of New York, Hollingsworth of Ohio, Kelliher of Massachusetts, and Lee of Georgia would have been found lined up with Cannon and the rest of their plutocratic brethren in any party in which they happened to be found. On many economic doctrines Democrats and Republicans must always differ; but decent Republicans and decent Democrats ought to agree on the issue between czarism and popular rule. And the time is fast coming when decent men in the two parties will unite for the common good. But the members of this roll of dishonored Democrats belong to the type of politician that must be remorselessly driven from public life in both parties if progress is not to stop. That with another election, they will be defeated in such numbers as to give control to men grounded in that honor that keeps faith to people and platform, all the signs of the time indicate.

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An International Clearing House.

The (Philadelphia) Press (Rep.), March 15.—The shifting back and forth of gold metal, which goes under the name of gold imports and exports, is a cumbersome and altogether barbaric method. Under present conditions nothing but the real gold will answer. Hence we see at one period of the year

tens of millions of the yellow metal going toward Europe and at another time just as much of it coming back to America. The banks of any great city have millions of balances among themselves to settle up every day. These settlements are made quickly and easily without the movement of a dollar cash. They are effected by the exchange of clearing house gold certificates. These represent real money and they are money among the banks, although not money for anyone else. It would be a huge task if the banks were forced to cart back and forth every day gold metal to settle their debts with each other. Were the half dozen leading countries of Europe to join the United States in agreeing upon a single international clearing certificate which would represent gold, the thing could be accomplished in a day. It would save time and expense. It would banish the risk of loss at sea of a cargo of gold. It would prevent a world-wide fight for gold such as occurred in 1907, when a panic comes. If Mr. Taft's administration can bring about this great reform, as it is trying to do, it will be an everlasting monument to its credit.

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Peasant Proprietorship.

The Cleveland Press (ind.).—Scattering land ownership out over a larger proportion of the people will not cure the evil of an impoverished peasantry. It does not give equal opportunity for the use of lands. It makes petty landlords of a part of the peasants, and leaves those still landless as badly off as before. . . . We had a great domain of matchless lands. We sold them to speculators, and gave them away to railways, to States, to education—but most lavishly of all to small landholders. But the evils of tenant farming are upon us everywhere. The rich buy out the poor. Men move to the towns, rent their lands to tenants, and the farms are "skinned" of their fertility by the short-sighted policy of "rack-renting" until the loss of soil fertility has become a national problem. Think what would have been the conditions now if the government had never sold or given away any of its land, but had leased it to actual workers, on leases subject to periodical adjustment, at rates which would have just covered the economic rent of the bare land, leaving to the farmer all his improvements, all the increased value from manuring, fertilization and good husbandry, with absolute security of possession for himself and his heirs.

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The (Portland) Oregonian (Rep), April 5.—Portland, with its swift growth, the extraordinary development of its commercial importance and its phenomenal acquirement of the comforts and conveniences of living, has been mighty good to the men who own the ground. Is there any reason why these benefits should be all on one side? Can any plea showing equity, sound municipal policy, or even self-interest, be produced to prove that the men who own the ground should not be as good to Portland as Portland has been to them?

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Well dressed is when you look nice; less well dressed is when you look stunning; least well dressed is when your clothes look better than you do.—Life.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

IN NO STRANGE LAND.

"The Kingdom of God Is Within You."

O world invisible, we view thee;
O world intangible, we touch thee;
O world unknowable, we know thee;
Inapprehensible, we clutch thee!

Does the fish soar to find the ocean,
The eagle plunge to find the air,
That we ask of the stars in motion
If they have rumor of thee there?

Not where the wheeling systems darken,
And our benumbed conceiving soars;
The drift of pinions, would we harken,
Beats at our own clay-shuttered doors.

The angels keep their ancient places—
Turn but a stone, and start a wing!
'Tis ye, 'tis your estrangèd faces,
That miss the many splendorèd thing.

But (when so sad thou canst not sadder)
Cry; and upon thy so sore loss
Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder
Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross.

Yea, in the night, my Soul, my daughter,
Cry, clinging Heaven by the hems;
And lo, Christ walking on the water,
Not of Genesareth, but Thames!
—Francis Thompson in the London Atheneum.

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THE MISSION OF A LIBERAL CHURCH.

The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, in the
St. Louis Mirror of April 15, 1909.

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I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem; they shall never hold their peace day or night; ye that are Jehovah's remembrancers, take ye no rest, and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth. Jehovah hath sworn by his right hand and by the arm of his strength, Surely I will no more give thy grain to be food for thine enemies; and foreigners shall not drink thy new wine, for which thou hast labored; but they that have garnered it shall eat it, and praise Jehovah; and they that have gathered it shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary.

Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people. Cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up an ensign for the peoples.
—Isa. 62; 6-10.

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"What's the use?" Some of us say this all the time, all of us say it some of the time. Those who say it all the time show that they

have not been born of the spirit that loves the truth and is capable of enthusiasm and sacrifice. But the men who are most devoted and who work the hardest for noble ends will sometimes fall into despair, and though they may despise themselves for it, they will succumb occasionally to the blackest doubts. These men, perhaps, are guilty of excessive zeal and their doubts may be nothing more than the natural remorse of intemperance. Sobriety is commendable, even in a reformer, and the soul grows weary, like the body, and requires rest. But no man who has been born of the spirit, no man who has once seen the light of some great truth, no man who has once heard in his heart the clarions of a noble cause, will long be cast down.

I have been voting all my life with the minority. The horns on election night are seldom music to my ears. Early on election nights I leave the streets to the misguided children whose boisterous joy seems to me like the dirge of the Republic. Next day I cannot bear to look at the papers. But after the first twenty-four hours, I revive sufficiently to begin to explain just why it happened and how no other result was to be expected. On the second day I can turn the elections returns around, as the fortune teller does the grounds in the cup, and read in them the sure sign of victories to come, and in a week I am making plans for the next campaign. Sometimes, you will hear me say it, or you will read it in the papers, that I am going out of politics. But never believe it. In party politics I have lost all faith. As to who fills the offices, I am utterly indifferent. But elections register, in their crude way, the progress of public opinion. They are the scores in that great game for which no man can lose his interest when once he has felt its fascination. Elections are the bulletins of the battles fought in that campaign which never ends, the campaign between the yoke and the cross, between the greed that makes slaves of men and the love that dies to set them free.

Does it pay? We never ask this question, except when we are beaten. Shall we surrender because a battle is lost? Shall we desert the standards because victory does not light on them? I am no soldier of fortune. It is not for vulgar victory that I fight. It is the justice of the cause for which I enlisted, and if the battle goes against it, that makes me love it all the more. Let them blow their horns on election night. I know that they celebrate their own defeat, not mine. The only defeat I can suffer at their hands is to permit their folly to shake my faith.

It is said of Bolivar, the great liberator, that when he came to die, he exclaimed: "I have sown in the sea." That is a melancholy confession. It cannot be true of any man who labors with high motives and a steadfast purpose. I have a friend whose father died in a camp of the Union army. In a postscript to the last letter he wrote, he said

that his tent-mate was whistling "Home, Sweet Home," and then he added: "If I were home with Maggie to-night, I would let the Union go to the Devil."

That is the way we all feel, some of the time, and that is the way we would feel all the time, if we could be satisfied with the husks of material comfort. But it is the sign of man's divinity that he must have more than this. We live in the vision and the dream. Enthusiasm is the breath of the soul. To strive for something that is above him, to fight for something that enlists his devotion—that is the nature of man.

You may at times lose heart. You may even try to become less than you are. You may say to yourself: "Come, nuzzle in this trough; fatten on these husks; eat your fill and then wallow in this hole!" If your manhood were swinehood, you could do that. But you cannot do it. Pigs eat and are content. Men are happier to be hungry and aspiring than surfeited and degraded.

Do you say you have done with the work of reform? That you are going to look out for self awhile? A man is not required to love his neighbor more than himself. It is an unbalanced altruism that leads a man to unreasonable sacrifice. Love yourself as much as you love your neighbor and do good with moderation. That is well. But when you plan to cast the ideal out of your heart, and to renounce your enthusiasm, and to live for self alone, you cheat yourself. Happiness is not won that way.

Be not deceived. Loyalty to the cause of humanity is loyalty to yourself. You can never surrender that cause. What you may surrender is the integrity of your own soul. Assuming, then, that we are men and women who find social service a necessity, we come to the question—What is the value of the Liberal Church as an agency for social service?

The Liberal Church—this name is not truly descriptive. To call ours a liberal church seems like calling the others illiberal. To do that, would be to prove that we ourselves were not liberal.

The contrast is not between the liberal and the illiberal nor between the orthodox and the unorthodox church. We are all orthodox according to our own standards.

We speak of a Liberal Church because that is the adjective popularly used to indicate the kind of church we have in mind. But in the popular mind, the Liberal Church may signify merely a church that does not insist upon the theological tenets that are commonly regarded as essential. What we have in mind by a Liberal Church is not merely one that ignores the theological tests that are commonly insisted upon, but one that substitutes social aims for theological opinions and regards the kingdom of heaven on earth, which can come only through social betterment, as rightfully the supreme concern of religion.

It is still gratifying to some to hear the theology of the churches assailed, and a church may call itself liberal and fill its pews with illiberal people who listen with delight to a caricature of other people's opinions. This is not what we have in mind by the mission of a Liberal Church. It is doubtful if there is any longer any great need for a church to combat the alleged heresies of orthodoxy. There is a more constructive work to do.

Social redemption is rightfully the supreme concern of religion. Let us not turn aside from this work to quarrel with any man about his religious opinions. All we need to do is to take orthodox Christianity at its word. There is enough truth there, if it were really taken seriously, to save the world. Therefore we do not ask men to accept a new faith. All we ask is that they practice their old one.

But it is contended that it is the special mission of the church to seek the regeneration of individual hearts, and that social betterment will flow naturally from these regenerated hearts, as the river from its source. Conversely it must be admitted that if men are not socially redeemed, they have not been individually saved. If social redemption does not follow this work of individual regeneration, that would seem to show that the regeneration has never taken place. If individual men are really converted to Christianity, then a society made up of these individuals would, of necessity, be a Christian society. But if men, who are members of the same church and all saved in the same way, can still live as we know they do live, some of them surfeited and some starved, some masters and some slaves, then we must conclude that their conversion somehow did not go to the root of the matter.

The difficulty seems to be right here. Individual salvation is a matter of the heart. Social redemption is a matter of the head, and the heart. If you desire a bridge built, you will not advertise for fifty Christians. You will want fifty structural iron workers. You might insist upon their being Christians, but in addition to that, they would have to be trained for their work. Likewise, if you want a Christian society you must have men capable of solving the problems of society in accordance with Christian principles.

For instance, here is a Christian who believes in high protection, a big navy, and in capital punishment. He abominates woman suffrage. Injunctions against labor unions are his delight, and he honestly believes that wealth and virtue go together and that sympathy for the poor is misplaced, for the most part.

You say at once, "He's no Christian, he's a hypocrite." But this is not so. His trouble is that his political thoughts have not been Christianized. He has not been educated to appreciate what is meant by a Christian society.

Here is a preacher who announces in the news-

papers that it is no trick at all to live a Christ-like life. This preacher has gone into the real estate business. He assures us that it is easy to be a real estate man and a Christian too, and that he makes land trades every day as Jesus would. What this preacher means, of course, is that he can make money without lying to his customers. He is not to be criticized for making money, and if a man wants to go from the pulpit into real estate, that is his affair. The two careers are not so far apart as they might seem, for some preachers and all real estate men "deal in futures." But the testimony of this preacher is impressive as showing how oblivious good Christians may be to the un-Christian character of the social institutions which they take for granted. Suppose we put the matter to this preacher somewhat as follows:

Ninety per cent of the people of Cincinnati pay twenty million dollars a year to the other ten per cent, not for the use of the houses they occupy, but besides the house rent, which they should pay, they pay twenty millions a year to one-tenth of the population for the privilege of staying here on this particular portion of the globe. Now let us ask this preacher: Who made this land on which Cincinnati stands? He cannot say that anybody made it. He will have to say that God gave it. Then let him tell us: Did God love the ten per cent so much more than the ninety per cent, that he gave all the land to them; and is this an exemplification of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, that God should compel the many to pay the few twenty millions a year for the privilege of staying here?

Or let us put the matter in another way. Let us ask the preacher to tell us what gives the ground on which Cincinnati is built, a rental value of twenty millions a year? He can answer that question if he will stop to think what a man would pay for any of this land if there were no water here and no light, no police and no schools, no pavements or sewerage or any of the utilities provided by a city government. It is the maintenance of these utilities that gives value to the land. This is what the ninety per cent pay for when they pay their twenty millions of ground rent to the other ten per cent. But who maintains these utilities? It costs ten millions a year to keep these things up, and the same people who pay the twenty millions of ground rent pay the ten millions in taxes. Now let us ask the preacher: If the expenditure of ten millions in taxation enables ten per cent of the population to collect twenty millions in ground rent from the rest, why should not those who collect the ground rent pay the taxes? Would such an arrangement accord with right reason and equity? Has one as good a natural right to the use of the ground as another? If so, then should not every man pay to all the rest the full annual value of any particular piece of ground that he is permitted to possess? Would it not be better for

all the people to pay their ground rent into a common treasury than for some of the people to pay it to the others? Would not this be a good way to make common property of that which is produced by the community, the annual value of the ground? And if this payment of ground rent into the common treasury made it possible to remit the ten millions now collected in taxation, and also to provide better parks and schools and amusements, and to do many other things that cannot now be afforded, would not this be a mercy? Moreover, would not the remission of the entire tax burden relieve industry of many clogs and hindrances? Would not the freedom of trade from the penalties of taxation greatly stimulate wealth production? Would not the transference of the tax burden from the house to the land make land cheaper as well as the house, and relieve the congestion in our cities and help to drain off the slums, giving employment to idle hands, multiplying homes and increasing the independence and hope of the people? If all this would be just, if it would be merciful, if it would help the fatherless and the widows, if it would help to heal the broken-hearted, if it would bring release to the captives, if it would set at liberty many who are bruised, if the accomplishment of these things would be the herald of good tidings to the poor, then is it Christian to neglect them? And if we neglect these things, are we really doing altogether as Jesus would do, even though we tell our customers no lies and conduct an honest real estate business?

It is not so simple after all to be a Christian. It requires some thought to build a Christian society. The head as well as the heart needs saving. It was not said: "Ye shall get converted once and that will make you free." "Ye shall know the truth, and that will make you free." Here then, is a work for the church to do. It is to teach men to turn to social account the Christianity they already have.

This mission of the church is suggested in the striking metaphors of the reformer Isaiah. Notice that the redemption of the city is the burden of his message. "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem; they shall never hold their peace day nor night."

That is the mission of the church—to maintain a watch upon the walls. "Ye that are Jehovah's remembrancers, take ye no rest and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth." That is the goal. To make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.

The metaphor represents man as struggling with God to enforce a covenant. Isaiah said that God had sworn by his right hand, and by the arm of his strength, to do certain things for the people.

Notice what these things are. "Surely I will no more give thy grain to be food for thine enemies; and foreigners shall not drink thy new wine,

for which thou hast labored; but they that have garnered it shall eat it, and praise Jehovah; and they that have gathered it shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary."

"Go through, go through the gates," cried the Prophet; "prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up an ensign for the people."

This is the program. A standard is to be raised for the people; the standard of social justice; and this cause is to be persisted in until the countryside is clothed with equity and the city is a praise in the earth.

The mission of the Liberal Church is the cause of the kingdom of God on the earth. It is the noblest aim that man can have. It is the purest passion that the heart knows. It is the highest purpose, the sublimest hope of prophet's vision or poet's song.

To make social betterment the chief concern of religion is no surrender to materialism. The equitable distribution of wealth is the least of the blessings to be sought. But for man to do justice to man, that is infinite spiritual gain. What is more radiant than justice? What is more beneficent than liberty? This is religion pure and undefiled—for a man to feel himself fettered by the wrongs of others, and to find his own freedom only in the emancipation of the world.

To make social betterment the chief concern of religion is no attempt to save the world by machinery, or to dispense with the spiritual dynamics of redeemed and inspired men. It is not proposed that society shall raise itself by its boot-straps. We acknowledge that before society can be redeemed the souls of men must be saved. But the salvation of individuals will never bring social redemption unless this salvation involves a passion for brotherhood and an apprehension of social equity. We are saved individually when we want justice for others. We are saved socially when we know how to get it. The heart must be aglow with the social fire. The mind must be illumined with economic truth. To invoke the spirit and to teach the way of social progress—this is the mission of the church that the world needs.

* * *

THE TIME TO STRIKE.

My God, I am weary of waiting for the year of jubilee;
I know that the cycle of man is a moment only to Thee;
They have held me back with preaching what the patience of God is like,
But the world is weary of waiting; will it never be time to strike?

When my hot heart rose in rebellion at the wrongs my fellows bore,
It was "Wait until prudent saving has gathered you up a store";

And "Wait till a higher station brings value in men's eyes";
And "Wait till the gray-streaked hair shall argue your counsel wise."

The hearts that kindled with mine are caught in the selfsame net;
One waits to master the law, though his heartstrings vibrate yet;
And one is heaping up learning, and many are heaping up gold,
And some are fierce in the forum, while slowly we all wax old.

The rights of man are a byword; the bones are not yet dust
Of those who broke the shackles, and the shackles are not yet rust
Till the masters are forging new ones, and coward lips are sealed,
While the code that cost a million lives is step by step repealed.

The wily world enchantress is working her cursed charm,
The spell of the hypnotizer is laming us head and arm;
The wrong dissolves in a cloudbank of "whether" and "if" and "still,"
And the subtleties of logic inhibit the sickly will.

The bitter lesson of patience I have practiced, lo! these years;
Can it be what has passed for prudence was prompted by my fears?
Can I doubt henceforth in my choosing, if such a choice I must have,
Between being wise and craven, or being foolish and brave?

Whenever the weak and weary are ridden down by the strong,
Whenever the voice of honor is drowned by the howling throng,
Whenever the right pleads clearly while the lords of life are dumb,
The times of forbearance are over and the time to strike is come.

—William Herbert Carruth, in "Each in His Own Tongue: And Other Poems." G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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THE BELIEF OF UNBELIEF.

A Fragment From One of the Utterances of O. B. Frothingham.

What do we not owe to those who have had the courage to disbelieve! and how tenderly we should bear them in mind! The men who bore hard names through life, and after death had harder names piled like stones over their memories! The men who wore themselves down with thought! The men who lived solitary and misunderstood, who were driven by the spirit into the wilderness, who were called "infidels" because they believed more

than their neighbors, and "heretics" because they chose the painful pursuit of truth in preference to the idle luxury of traditional opinion, and "atheists" because they rested on a God so large that the vulgar could not see His outline, and "image-breakers" because they adored the unseen Spirit, and "deniers of Christ" because they affirmed the eternal Word. What do we not owe them, who went about shaking their heads and murmuring "No" with their lips, their hearts all the while saying "Yes" to the Immortals! They, after all, are the builders of our most splendid beliefs. It is they who have quenched the vengeful fires of hell, and burned up the selfish chaff of heaven. It is they who have taken the discord out of the heart of God, and made His countenance shine upon His creatures. It is they who have hunted the old devil from the highways and byways of creation. Who but they have practically taught us the preciousness of the rational life, have rescued us from the tyranny of establishments and creeds, and purchased with their blood the real freedom which is our native birthright?

* * *

UNWRITTEN HISTORY.

The first thing that struck Columbus when he landed in America was the absence of real estate; neither corner lots, country places nor factory sites. Calling a likely looking Indian brave, he asked, "Have you a deed for this land?"

"Indeed we have not," replied the Indian.

"Then how did you get it?" continued Columbus, meanwhile counting up on his fingers the vast fortune that lay before him even at one hundred dollars per lot without sewer, gas, water, paved streets or even policemen.

"Our ancestors discovered it," responded the Indian, as well as the difference in their languages would permit.

"That will never do," exclaimed Columbus, in disgust. "We have come to discover it again and discover it right. This will be a discovery in deed as well as in fact." Then, turning to one of his crew of the name of Astor, he handed him a deed to Manhattan Island. Among the others of his crew he sold, bargained, conveyed, transferred, set over and otherwise distributed all the rest of the land, except that lying west of the Mississippi River. This he divided into two portions. One of these portions he gave to the transcontinental railroads and the other portion he set aside as a basis for future land frauds.

Needless to say, real estate offices sprang up everywhere, prices immediately advanced and all subsequent immigrants had to pay rent.

In the beginning the Lord made Heaven and earth and Adam took a deed for the earth because it was more accessible.—Ellis O. Jones, in *Life*.

STATESMANSHIP AS VIEWED BY TOM HARDER,

One of the Uncultured People.
For The Public.

"Corn's up again today," said the grain dealer to Old Tom as they watched the quivering scale beam go up and down under the weight of the loaded wagon upon the platform.

"That so!" ejaculated Old Tom, as he prepared to solace himself with a three cornered piece of night rider plug. "It's jest as I expected. She generally goes up after I've sold mine."

"Well, you've got nothin' to kick about, Tom," replied the grain dealer. "You got 59 cents for yours. You got a darn sight more'n you would if Bryan had been elected."

"I'm willin' to admit that you're a mighty smart man, Jim," said Old Tom, as he noted down the weight of the load of corn on the back of an old envelope. "You're smart enough to guess right in the Board o' Trade game once out o' twenty times, but I won't admit that you can guess what would have happened if Bryan had been elected."

"We don't have to guess it," replied the grain dealer. "We know it. It's a dead cinch that every last one of the great industries of the country would have shut down, and they would have staid closed till it was known what Bryan was goin' to do. Your corn wouldn't have been worth thirty cents then."

"I 'spose you're passin' that as a well digested opinion," said Old Tom. "But it looks a little bit raw to me. I 'spose you are a little confused by observin' the celerity of the statesmen in Washington in the matter of reform business. You're somewhat fuddled by the speed they are makin' on the road to economy. The way they have cut the salaries down, and the parin' down of the appropriation bills is calculated to unsettle common minds like ours. I don't blame you, Jim. The tremendous bulk o' wisdom concentrated at Washington is calculated to tip the universe to one side to a dangerous degree. The awful wear and tear on the brains of statesmen that are huntin' for the difference in the cost of production here and in foreign countries is deplorable. We might think that the benevolent industries that spend so much money and time pleadin' for protection for workingmen's wages, would save the wear and tear on the brains by coming out in the open and telling us just how much difference there is, but it don't make much difference after all. The statesmen will find it, if we give them time enough; and when they do find it the things they will do to the protective tariff will make your head swim."

"Now, Jim, I'm goin' to say a word about corn. I've raised corn more'n forty years. I've fed it to the hogs, an' I've burnt it in a sheet iron stove

to keep the kids from freezin' to death; so I know what I'm takin' about. This high price corn aint doin' the fellers that did the work o' raisin' it so much good as you might think. Taft didn't make corn high, an' Bryan wouldn't have made it low. Corn is scarce. Two bad seasons made it scarce, an' scarcity of anything always makes high prices. That's one thing to observe and remember. Another is that plenty of money (no matter what kind) makes high prices. So, we've got a little shortage of corn an' we've got plenty of money. It don't look to me exactly like sound money, but it circulates and it will buy things. These two things have made high prices for corn and lots of other things; but the fellers that farms the farms and raises the corn aint likely to become millionaires right off. Most of the corn raisers are tenants. High priced corn and things makes high rents so that the fellers that stand around an' look at the corn raisers and receipt for the rents are the ones that get the benefit of the high prices. They are hoardin' the corn, an' the people that want it to feed their cattle an' hogs an' to use for other things, are economizin' to beat the band, an' the benevolent speculators on the Board of Trade are prayin' night an' day for another short crop.

"I don't know which I like the best, the benevolent speculators or the economical statesmen. You may not have noticed, Jim, the wonderful and contradictory things the economical statesmen are going to do for us. In the first place they are goin' to economize by increasin' the appropriations. Then they are goin' to get more revenue without makin' the people pay a cent more than they do now. Looks like an easy job, don't it? Then they are goin' to put a tax of a dollar a barrel on beer. The brewers will pay that of course without kickin' a bit. The saloon men won't raise the bottom of the beer glass a little bit. The beer drinker will git just as much beer for his nickel as he ever did. It's the easiest thing in statesmanship ever mentioned. Then they are goin' to give us a 5 cent tax on our coffee. Of course that won't make us pay any more for our coffee. The foreigner will pay it as he does most of our other taxes now. Then they will take off a dollar on the lumber tariff, and to help the foreigner out they will recoup the revenue by a stamp tax on bank checks and notes and sales of produce and live stock and some other things. Of course the foreigner will pay this tax, but then it will take a long time to find it out, an' in the meantime the ignorant may express dissatisfaction.

"Then they are goin' to make a cut in the tariff on steel and iron products, an' help the producers of live stock by givin' them free hides an' a cut in the wool tariff. Of course it bein' well known that the beef raisers an' the wool growers are all millionaires an' are foundin' libraries an' universities, we needn't feel much sympathy for 'em."

"Well, it would have been a lot worse if Bryan had been elected," said the grain dealer. "They wouldn't have been any business at all."

"You never mind about Bryan," replied Old Tom. "Give me the money for that corn. I'll go over to the store and drop 25 cents into the sugar trust slot. We need ten pound o' sugar for sweetenin' at our house. While I'm gone you jest watch the brains o' the economical statesmen a workin'."

GEORGE V. WELLS.

BOOKS

THE CHRISTIANITY OF SOCIALISM.

They Must; or, God and the Social Democracy. A Frank Word to Christian Men and Women. By Hermann Kutter, Minister of the New Minister in Zurich. American editor, Rufus W. Weeks. Published by the Co-operative Printing Company, 5623 Drexel ave., Chicago. Price \$1.

This thrilling sermon, reviewed in its original German three years ago in these columns by Gustav Buescher (vol. viii, p. 719), has been translated into English under the patronage of over 400 subscribers for copies, among whom appear such familiar names as George Foster Peabody, the Rev. E. E. Carr, the Rev. J. O. Bentall, Eugene V. Debs, the Rev. W. de Ronden-Pos, the Rev. Walter H. McPherson, C. E. Obenchain, W. J. Ghent, Rose Pastor Stokes, J. G. Phelps Stokes, and Edwin A. Brenholtz. Mr. Buescher did not exaggerate when he said of this book in the original, that it was "written in earnest," because "the author had something to say that did not permit him to remain silent," and "was burning with a holy wrath against injustice." The English translation, which appears to have been made in the spirit of the original, is full of fire.

Yet the book is no mere thundergust of rhetoric. It maintains its theme with reason as well as eloquence; and its theme is that the modern form of Christianity is social democracy—not the Socialist party in politics, although that gives it the most imposing expression, but the idea of social justice.

From the American editor's preface we learn that Hermann Kutter is of German ancestry, about 45 years of age, an orthodox Protestant, and a Swiss pastor. He preached to a small congregation in Berne until 1898, when he was elected to his present pastorate by one of the congregations of Zurich. His term expiring in 1904, he was reelected against opposition and by an overwhelming majority; but not by his co-religionists. Most of these had left the congregation, and those that remained voted against him. Their places had been more than taken, however, by "the lower classes," who flocked to his church in great num-

bers. This little revolution was the result of his candid preaching during the preceding six years. While remaining intensely orthodox, he had boldly declared from his pulpit again and again, as he continues to do, that the churches are essentially opposed to the Christian gospel.

Not in conventional Christianity, therefore, does Pastor Kutter find a living faith in the living God, but in social democracy, even among those who deny God in terms, for they keep their hearts open to truth. He may be regarded as representing the ideal or spiritual aspect of the great socialistic tendencies of our time.

The significance of the book's title, "They Must," is that they who, though they deny God with their lips, cherish his truth in their hearts and serve it in their lives, are of God's people, even as they who, though they acknowledge God with their lips, deny him in their hearts and lives, are not of his people. The former carry in their hearts a great irresistible *must*.

Referring to the Socialist party, this preacher asks: If it "declares war on all religion, shall we, in the light of the teaching of the past, see in this only a sign of godlessness? Nay, do we not see rather that God and church, God and religion, are not one and the same thing?"

A little farther on he exclaims: "All the religious parties are paralyzed by Mammon's friendship. Only the Social Democracy stands out against Mammon as a pronounced enemy, irrespective of the individual interests of its members. They are comrades in the cause—the Social Democracy for mankind. They are filled with a noble ambition and reverence for humanity. The Social Democracy has one great purpose that inspires it. What is this purpose? The Social Democracy itself hardly knows what is the answer to that question. . . . The Social Democrats carry about a great irresistible *must* in their hearts. Whither it will lead them they know not. They need not know—another knows. To this *must*, O Church of Christ, thou oughtest to join thyself, or else set over against it thine own *must*." "If thou hast no *must*—thou hast no God."

Although in proclaiming the idea of social justice, Mr. Kutter defends the Social Democracy as its most imposing present-day expression, he is not blind to the weak insistence of that party upon materialism.

This, indeed, is his criticism of it. "One of the great faults of Social Democracy," he says, "is that it forgets that man himself is among the 'realities' of the world; that he is not the mere sum of nourishment, air, housing and clothing to which the materialism of a Buechner or a Mole-schott would reduce him; that behind his ideas there is an independent force which can be influenced by these things, but is not created by them." But, on the other hand, he accuses con-

ventional Christianity of falsity in giving secondary place to material concerns.

"They Must," is not a book to excite enthusiasm in the drawing rooms of our plutocracy. It is not likely to find a place in any of the church libraries, or a hearing from any of the pulpits over which Mammon presides. It will receive scant attention, if any, from the secular and religious periodicals that cater to the classes whom the author describes as "honest citizens who boast of knowing nothing of jails except what they read in the papers when they put on their slippers and sink into a comfortable arm chair after a day's work;" who "do not steal," but "find no offense in our economic world which is a vast scheme of swindling;" who "do not murder," but "laugh and joke over the poor man's lack of cleverness which forfeits his livelihood;" who "do no one any harm or any good either;" but "live like snakes in their several dens." Outside of those classes, however, the book will speak with power, directly and indirectly, to great masses. It is a bugle call to all who believe in Christianity as the ideal of social justice. Socialistic, it is not Socialist; Christian, it is not Pagan.

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TAXATION.

State and Local Taxation. Second International Conference under the auspices of the International Tax Association, held at Toronto, Ontario, October 6-9, 1908. Published by the International Tax Association, Columbus, Ohio.

The official reports of the International Tax Association, the first of which appeared about a year ago (vol. xi, p. 68), are indispensable to serious-minded taxing officials conscious of their responsibility, and to students of taxation in general; and valuable as was the first report, the second is even more so. The two belong together, however, the greater value of the second being due to its further and wider development of the subject matter of the first.

It will be remembered that the practical application of land value taxation in Edmonton and other places in the Canadian Province of Alberta, came under consideration at the conference of which this volume is a report (vol. xi, p. 686), and attracted widespread attention. The paper which introduced that subject, and is here printed in full, was by John Perrie, the tax commissioner of Alberta. Its importance may be inferred from the writer's statement that "the most distinguishing feature of the assessment systems" used in the Province of Alberta is probably "the fact that the assessment of personal property or improvements is almost unknown, practically all taxes being levied on land, and the assessment based on the value of such land without regard to the improvements thereon."

Among the other papers of special interest were

Prof. Loos's, on the division between State and local taxation; F. A. Derthick's, on farmers and the general property tax; Lawson Purdy's, on assessment of city real estate; James E. Boyle's, on publication of assessment lists; E. R. A. Seligman's, on precision in assessments; John B. McKilligan's, on taxation in British Columbia; Milo R. Maltbie's, on the taxation of public service corporations; and Robert A. Campbell's, on the history of Constitutional provisions relating to taxation.

In view of the inheritance tax policy now recommended by President Taft and embodied in the Payne tariff-revision bill, one series of the papers in this volume, that on inheritance taxation, is peculiarly timely. These papers are by William H. Corbin, State tax commissioner of Hartford, who summarizes the inheritance tax laws of all the States and Territories, and also of our Dependencies; by Prof. S. S. Huebner, of the University of Pennsylvania, who discusses the inheritance tax in certain economic and sociological aspects; and by Prof. Joseph H. Underwood, of the University of Montana, who makes a critical review of the other two papers.

There is, of course, a good deal of "whirling detail" and "bewildering chaos" in this volume; for the papers are by experts so habituated to and worshipful of minute specialization that they often ignore generalization altogether or twist it out of symmetry. But the facts reported are extremely valuable; and sound generalization is, after all, not so much a matter of esoteric expertism as of enlightened common sense.

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MUNICIPAL REFORM.

Proceedings of the Pittsburg Conference for Good City Government, and the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League. 1908. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Editor. Published by the National Municipal League, North American Building, Philadelphia.

Whoever is interested at all in municipal affairs will find in this report some of the most valuable information and suggestion attainable. Besides Robert Treat Paine's paper on the initiative, the referendum and the recall (p. 110), there are excellent reports upon public service commissions, by Thomas M. Osborne of the up-State commission of New York, and by Joseph B. Eastman, secretary of the Public Franchise League of Massachusetts. A very valuable nugget of civic wisdom will be found in the sensible speech of Horace E. Deming—that part of his speech at page 458 in which he said: "I have heard people say that city government is business and not politics at all. That is one of those nine-tenths truths which leave plenty of venom in the other tenth, and the other tenth poisons the whole. Politics are

just as necessary in determining the public policy of a city government as of a State or national government; and one of the chief causes of our municipal ills is that the city is governed from without by outsiders not accountable to the people of the city, and that its public policy is determined by the interests of these outsiders instead of by the needs and wishes of the city's own citizens." But better even than the papers and speeches—and this without the slightest disparagement to any of them—is the comprehensive, able and conscientiously painstaking report of the secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, on "American Municipal Tendencies." It describes the civic movements for the year in all the municipalities of the country in which progress or agitation has been of general moment. This feature of these annual reports makes them an absolute necessity to practical students of the higher municipal politics.

PAMPHLETS

Burgholzer's Pamphlet.

The pamphlet on "Direct Legislation," by Max Burgholzer, Eugene, Oregon (R. F. D. 3) noticed in this column recently (p. 333), is sold for 5 cents a copy.

+ +

The Free Trade Broadside.

The Free Trade League (6 Beacon street, Boston), celebrates its twenty-fifth year with a Broadside (No. 5 of volume 2) containing a complete index to the first volume, and among other useful articles an expert analysis by Byron W. Holt of the Payne tariff bill. Whether the Broadside will be continued or not is uncertain. The work of editing it has fallen upon William Lloyd Garrison, as secretary of the League, and he announces his inability, for personal reasons, to accept re-election.

+ +

Social Ethics.

The ethical address on the social ideal, by Leslie Willis Sprague of the Brookfield (N. Y.) Society for Ethical Culture, is an ethical plea for a democracy that shall safeguard the truth of the prime "constituent elements of the social ideal," solidarity with individuality. One of Mr. Sprague's thoughts, while by no means new, is too seldom expressed and too often ignored—the thought that the worst of poverty is not its physical suffering, but its degrading effects.

+ +

Social Reconstruction.

A reprint of John Martin's article in the September Atlantic, published by the Progressive Committee (165 Broadway, New York), asks what social philosophy governs the social reconstruction actually in process, since individualism is rejected and doctrinaire socialism is not adopted; and it detects the principle of order and organization. This it regards as "part of the American accepted creed."

But the author sees that the nation will "need to go great lengths in the practice of that creed before the social machinery is running smoothly," the first great task being the arrangement of "our system of industrial rewards so that to every person willing to work a sufficient livelihood from birth to death shall be guaranteed."

+ +

Social Conditions.

The third of the Madison studies in American social conditions, edited by Richard Henry Edwards (p. 219), which has just appeared, deals with the problem of Immigration. Its general bibliography covers such subjects as the extent and character of present immigration, existing regulations and restrictions, Ellis Island, causes of immigration, present distribution and occupation of immigrants, immigrants in Wisconsin, and American assimilation. On proposed lines of solution the bibliography is classified with reference to rejection and closer restriction, better distribution, education and Americanization, and, finally, Christianization. Something like 66 books and 121 periodicals are cited on various branches of the subject, including encyclopedias, adventures, investigations, fiction, statistics, theoretical suggestions, historical work, and so on. (Price 10 cents. Richard Henry Edwards, 237 Langdon St., Madison, Wis.) The next issue is to deal with the Labor Problem.

PERIODICALS

An extremely lucid account of the telegraphers' strike in Paris (p. 391) and its causes, appears in The Commercial Telegraphers' Journal (Chicago) for April. Although the writer does not say so, the causes, which were administrative, bear a singular resemblance to the administrative martinetism in the

public schools of Chicago which has aroused and consolidated the whole teaching force.

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The April number of the settlement monthly "By Archer Road" (358 E. 22d St.) is devoted wholly to "Eli Bates House—The Settlement at 80 Elm street. Mrs. Alice Holt Palmer, Head Resident, tells the story of this North Side settlement from its modest beginning in 1876 as an industrial school, to 1884 when Mr. Eli Bates gave it a permanent home, until now when the days and evenings are full of neighborhood clubs and classes, and the seven resident and twenty non-resident workers have much more than they can do. Pictures of workers, neighbors and surroundings well illustrate the text.

A. L.

+ + +

Inquiries after the welfare of Patrick Conroy were answered by his devoted friend, Terence Dolan, who was at the Conroys in the double capacity of nurse and cook. "No, he's not dangerously hurt at all," was Mr. Dolan's reply to a solemnly whispered question at the door.

"We heard he had a bad fall and was all broke to pieces," whispered the neighbor.

"'Tis a big story you've heard," said Mr. Dolan, in his cheerful roar. "Thru, he fell off'n the roof o' the Brady stables, where he was shingling, and he broke his lift leg, knocked out a couple o' teeth and broke his collarbone.

"Mind ye, if he'd have fell clear to the ground it might have hurted him bad, but sure there was a big pile of shtones and old lumber that broke his fall."—Youth's Companion.

+ + +

"How do yoah 'possum taste, suh?" asked the solicitous waiter.

"Well," responded the patron who had ordered

A HINT.

Here is a letter from which every reader of The Public may learn how to extend and increase its effectiveness in greatest degree with least effort:

QOMAK, WASH., April 8, 1909—Some months ago, Mr. B. H. Davis of Omak, Wash., asked me if I had any objection to his sending my name in for a trial subscription to The Public. I now look forward eagerly to its arrival, and have thanked him many times for putting me in touch with a paper that unhesitatingly stands for equal chances for all and special chances for none. ¶ Your articles all have the ring of truth and sound judgment, and I would like to see your circulation largely increased in this new country that is just developing. We have a very intelligent class of people here, who only need to be put on the right track to realize the great benefits that will result to the country and themselves if they would adopt some of the principles you advocate. ¶ I send you the following names for trial subscriptions for three weeks * * * ¶ You can count me as a subscriber as long as your paper continues its present high standard.

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the article; "it tastes pretty good, but it isn't 'possum."

"No, suh," rejoined the waiter; "an' dat's a sign it's genuine. De genuine 'possum is a great pretender, suh; yas, suh."—Philadelphia Ledger.

+ + +

The son and heir is seven years old—old enough to spell out, with helps over the hard words, "Alice in Wonderland," and to enjoy it hugely, especially the memorable duet between the Mock Turtle and the Griffin. Recently, as a great treat, he was permitted to accompany his pretty young aunt to luncheon at one of New York's famous restaurants, and, as a crowning joy, invited to select his own delicacies. Long and earnestly he pondered over the bill of fare; then his eyes grew big and his face illumined as he laborously read the list of soups.

"Yes, thank you, I've precided what I want," he

said with nervous gait; then with an impressive knitting of his brows he addressed the attentive waiter: "I'll have one very, very small mock turtle, but don't make it into soup—just bring it along alive and kicking."—Woman's Home Companion.

+ + +

Uppardson: "Isn't a lawsuit over a patent right about the dullest thing you ever saw?"

Atom: "Not always. I attended a trial of that kind once that was too funny for anything. A tall

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